

SOCIAL ACTION



**Churches Endorse
The Cooperatives**

**Aid Sought for
Farm Tenants**

**"Keep the U.S.
Out of A War"**

**The Rising Tide
of Labor Unrest**

A Call to Action

June 15

10 Cents

1935



Something Worth Repeating

• • •

"It is better to do something about war now than to stand on the platform with tears in your eyes watching the boys off."—*Rev. Ferry L. Platt*

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"To promote the increase of natural knowledge and to forward the application of scientific methods of investigation to all the problems of life to the best of my ability, in the conviction which has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength, that there is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and of action, and the resolute facing of the world as it is when the garment of the make-believe is stripped off."—Huxley.

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"Only one sign of clear determination has been displayed in his (President Roosevelt's) policy: His resolve to pour out billions for increased armaments in preparation for war."—*Charles A. Beard*

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Gen. Hugh S. Johnson in a United Feature Syndicate article April 15 on proposed legislation to limit war profits, declared as follows: "Worst of all, industry can't be mobilized on some fraction or all of 3 per cent earnings on capital . . . It would certainly paralyze our defense at the very moment of attack." And that from a man who helped persuade millions of men to offer their **lives** for their country at **\$30 a month!**

SOCIAL ACTION

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Churches Turn To Cooperatives

EDITOR'S NOTE—*Various churches have asked the CSA for information about the cooperative movement. We print below a statement which was drafted and adopted at the New York Conference of the Methodist Church, May 11, 1935.*

The Consumers' Cooperative Movement "is a non-political and voluntary method whereby the people unite and use their resources to supply their needs. Through Cooperative societies the consumers perform for themselves the useful functions of supply which are otherwise performed by profit business, by the political state, by charity, or by the unaided individual."

The Movement started in 1844, at Rochdale, England, when a few weavers and miners, troubled by unemployment and debts, pooled their scant savings and opened a cooperative grocery store. During the ensuing ninety years, the Movement has grown, so that, at the present time, the International Cooperative Alliance includes forty-one countries, with 230,000 cooperative societies having a total membership of 100,000,000, operating a great variety of enterprises, with an accumulated capital of many billions of dollars, and doing an annual business totaling several billions. In some cities and countries, as high as one half of the population are served by cooperative societies.

The guiding principles of cooperation are seven in number and very simple. The first three are considered absolutely essential; the last four highly desirable. They are:

1. The initial capital is secured by the sale of shares to members, but each member, regardless of the amount invested, has one vote.
2. A legal and fixed rate of interest is paid on the capital invested.
3. All surplus, after setting aside a fund for interest on capital stock, reserve and educational promotion, is returned to members in proportion to their patronage.
4. Membership is unrestricted, although each individual is expected to invest some money.
5. Goods are sold for cash at the market value.
6. Constant education in the principles and aims of cooperation is carried on.
7. Federation is sought with other cooperative societies with the ultimate goal of national and world cooperation.

The Cooperative Movement has met with conspicuous success in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, India, Japan, and many other nations.

The growth of the Movement in Great Britain shown in the table below indicates its possibilities. Note particularly its growth during and after the War:

	1844	1913	1933
Membership	28	2,878,292	6,917,138
Employees .....	...	144,000	270,000
Capital Investment	\$140	\$225,000,000	\$830,000,000
Retail Volume	500	415,000,000	1,000,000,000
Wholesale Volume .....	...	200,000,000	500,000,000
Production Volume .....	...	150,000,000	350,000,000
Insurance Premiums .....	...	1,000,000	28,000,000
Banking Turnover .....	...	850,000,000	3,100,000,000

Consumers' cooperation in America dates from 1845. While many early experiments ended in disappointment, since the World War the Movement has enjoyed steady and increasingly rapid progress. Scandinavian immigrants

settling in our north Central States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois were the first to demonstrate on an impressive scale the applicability of cooperative principles in American life. Today, the Movement is attracting national attention. The Cooperative League of the U. S. A. with headquarters at 167 West 12th Street, New York City, lists affiliated organizations in nearly every State in the Union. These cooperatives include buying clubs, retail food, clothing and department stores, dairies, creameries and milk routes, garages, oil stations and accessory depots, restaurants, apartment houses, banks, insurance companies, farm supply organizations, fuel and building supply yards, recreation centers, clinics, wholesales, factories, and many other enterprises.

The Movement is built upon Christian principles of good will, mutual aid, and democratic procedure. It does not require a revolution of either bullets or ballots for its inauguration. Any small group gathered from a church, fraternal order, trade union, school or community may initiate a Consumers' Cooperative. Such an outstanding Christian as Toyohiko Kagawa, of Japan, declares that in this Movement is the Christian's economic program which shall rebuild our social and economic order upon Christian principles. Dr. E. Stanley Jones, in his recent book, "Christ's Alternative to Communism," says that Christians interested in the building of the Kingdom of God should start immediately "to build Cooperatives of every sort."

We recommend that our pastors and churches study the Consumers' Cooperative Movement and if, in their judgment, it is worthy of support, we recommend that they aid in their respective communities in the organization of co-operative enterprises.

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"Kagawa sees in the development of a strong cooperative movement the economic foundation for world peace."—*Helen Topping*

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"God! I had rather I'd been killed
Than live forever and never build."

Aid Sought for Rural Outcasts

"I have traveled over most of Europe and part of Africa, but I have never seen such terrible sights as I saw among the share-croppers of Arkansas." This is the recent statement of the British author, Naomi Mitchison.

"Here is a log cabin," she said, "half sunk in flood water and in it some eight people, one of them a mother yellow and bony with malaria, her new born child in her arms. The only furniture in the house was a table, a bench, and a stool, and two beds for all eight of them.

"There is only one hopeful thing about the situation and that is the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Here one may see the truest human values, brotherhood and loyalty and immense courage in the face of danger. And here something has happened which is of terrific historical importance: white people and colored people are working together in a common cause with complete trust and friendship."

A letter sent out in March by James Myers as secretary of the Church Emergency Relief Committee in New York, relates this story:

"One of the share-croppers told us of a family of seven who 'didn't have a teaspoonful' of anything to eat in the house. The mother exhorted the children to hold fast to faith in God. 'The Lord will help us,' she kept saying. Finally, Howard Kester, accompanied by the president of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, came to the house bringing a little food and some clothing. 'Mother,' whispered one of the little girls, 'which one of them fellers is the Lord?'"

The situation of the sharecroppers which has been serious for years seems to have been brought to a crisis by the government's agricultural program. The following concrete case is reported by an Arkansas lawyer: A certain landlord had 4,000 acres cultivated in cotton. By the cotton reduction contract his cotton acreage was cut 40%, for which the government paid him \$17,000. But this reduction cut down the amount of work and income of about 135 sharecropper families. Some of them believed they were

entitled to share in the government's bonus for reduction and did seek to share in it by writing to Washington and by forming the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

One of the results of their efforts to organize is referred to as follows in a letter from Frank McCulloch of the Council for Social Action to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace:

"Immediate action by agents of your department appears to be about the only possible means of avoiding serious conflict in the region around Marked Tree, Arkansas, where organization activities of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union have been carried on. I have spent a short time interviewing persons in Marked Tree friendly to the planters and opposed to the new union. From their very frank statements it is obvious that violent interference with the union meetings is being planned. Attempts have already been made upon the lives of several Union organizers and the increasing use of firearms and explosives is there regarded as a certainty."

The reply to this letter stated that maintaining order was a concern of local officers, but that the suggestions would be considered.

Vigilantism Rampant

Within the next week an armed band of vigilantes is reported to have shot into the home of the attorney for the Union, to have beaten members of the Union as their homes were searched for a Union officer, and to have attacked with guns and flashlights a group of these men, women and children going home from church.

What is being done to meet the emergency? We mention three things:

(1). "Several hundred dollars in cash and dozens of packages of clothing," according to the Union's official bulletin, "have been received from the Church Emergency Relief Committee. These people," it continues, "are feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and ministering to the sick. When Christians begin to participate in the struggles of the workers who are trying to build a society in which true

Christianity can function, then Jesus Christ begins to live in our midst again."

(2). Various agencies are supporting a resolution introduced by Congressman Amlie (Progressive, Wisconsin) April 30 and calling for a congressional investigation of the "steadily worsening conditions" of agricultural workers.

(3). Those looking toward the ultimate solution of the tenant problem are in substantial agreement with the conclusion of the Rosenwald study that the present system of land tenure must be reorganized. But that raises two major questions:

- a. Should farms be owned by the individual farmer, by his cooperative, or by his government?
- b. Should farming be carried on by small one-family units with individual freedom and a low living standard or by large production units with less individual freedom and a higher standard of living?

The Farm Homes Corporation bill sponsored by Senator Bankhead (D., Ala.) and now before Congress would put a number of sharecroppers on small privately owned farms.

Consider Community Interests

Dr. Arthur Holt in a recent article on "The Future of Homestead Democracy" in *The Christian Century* asks, "Why not bring to the foreground once more the old New England tradition whereby a man in securing possession of his land was made conscious of the fact that he first of all had a duty to his community, that this community had a right of way and claim on his obligations more important than his rights and privileges as an individual landowner? America is not confined to the individualistic tradition in landholding. Both traditions exist and the communal tradition ought not to be ignored in the critical days which are ahead."

The following specific plan is proposed by Professor J. M. MacLachlen of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering:

1. To allow about \$2,000 per family for investment as is suggested by the Bankhead bill, but to put the sum into farm units adequate for 100 families.
2. To obtain good quality land from the Federal Land Banks or through state or county tax delinquencies.
3. To make possible machinery and conveniences which are not economical on small, individually operated farms.
4. To provide a trained agricultural manager and purchasing agent.
5. To establish the farm corporation or cooperative on a genuinely democratic basis—controlled by a board of directors elected by the participating families from their own number.

Advocates of such a plan recognize that some will consider it 'idealistic.' They contend, however, that in an age of plenty, this plan is more 'practical' than opening the door to peasantry by giving the sharecroppers 'forty acres and a mule' and discouraging him from organizing as other occupations do.

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Facts About America

1. A sixth of the entire population of the United States is on relief.
2. A fifth of all formerly employed workers are out of a job.
3. A third of all our aged are dependent.
4. Two-fifths of those on relief are children.
5. Nearly half of all Americans do not get proper medical care.
6. Millions of Americans live in homes little better than hovels.
7. Even in 1929, the annual earnings of 18,000,000 workers was under \$1,000 a piece.

(From *Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins' talk in Chicago, January 3, 1935.*)

For Workers Everywhere

O GOD, Thou art Thyself the Master Workman, skilled Creator. Hast Thou not also revealed to us Thy very nature in Jesus the carpenter, whose roughened hands bear eternal testimony to the dignity of toil.

We sense Thy presence in the labor movement, in the upward surge of the masses, who with the awakened self-respect of children of God, have through the centuries cast off the shackles of slavery and serfdom, and stand now gazing toward the dawn of a greater freedom.

We praise Thee for those brave spirits who have led the way; who have dared to risk even their children's bread in organized endeavor to improve the lot of all; who for unselfish devotion have been condemned as outcasts of society; suffered contumely; endured prison; sacrificed their lives as martyrs to the cause.

Preserve them from temptation to selfish complacency in partial gains for any favored craft or race or nation. Guard their leaders from lust for personal power. Guide them in the service of the common good.

Grant to labor the wisdom to seek a world of peace and plenty by means of organization and the ballot, keeping their movement free from hate and violence, building into the cooperative commonwealth those spiritual values which alone can make it endure.

Bring, at last, all workers by hand or brain into worldwide Brotherhood; into closer fellowship with Thee, O God, the Father of us all.

—James Myers, *Courtesy Association Press.*



“The college authorities who are cracking down on the anti-war strikers ought to come clean and admit that they are not conducting educational institutions but adjuncts of the army.”—Dorothy Dunbar Bromley

And the Rich Man Died

BY HERMAN F. REISSIG, *Pastor*

Kings Highway Congregational Church, Brooklyn

(Compare Luke 16:19-31)

Now there was a certain rich man, and he lived in a beautiful house, drove an expensive automobile, and every day dined on the finest food. And a certain unemployed laborer lived just around the corner, and his children suffered from rickets. And he desired to be fed with the few crumbs of charity which the rich man contributed out of his abundance; yea even his dog seemed to be sorry for him.

And it came to pass that the poor laborer died and the angels of God carried his soul away to a happier land. And the rich man also died and was buried, and as he suffered in hell he lifted up his eyes and saw the poor laborer walking with Jesus on the streets of Paradise. And he cried and said, "Christ have mercy on me, and send the poor laborer that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish." But Jesus said, "*Remember, my son, you got all the good things while you were on earth, just as the poor unemployed laborer got all the misery; he is in comfort now, and you are in anguish. And besides, there is a gulf here between heaven and hell, even wider than the gulf on earth between the rich and the poor.*"

Then he said, "I beseech you, send some one to Fifth Avenue and to Flatbush that he may open their eyes—for I had many brothers there—that they may mend their ways before it is too late." But Jesus said, "*They have the message of the prophets and they have my testimony; let them pay attention to that.*" And he said, "No, but if some one were to come to them straight from heaven, they would listen." And Jesus said to him, "*If they pay no attention to the prophets and to me, they would turn a deaf ear even if someone should rise from the dead.*"

"Keep the U. S. Out of War"

Such is the slogan of a group of Washington leaders, headed by Senators Nye and Clark, and by Representative Maverick. They know full well the story told so graphically by Walter Millis in his new book, "The Road to War." They are aware how munitions shipments, enlarged trade and loans to the Allied governments actually brought the United States into the World War long before the people or even Congress knew that we were in. Should European war come again, these leaders want to avoid a similar mistake.

In support of a neutrality policy, Senators Nye and Clark have introduced the following measures:

- (1). S.J. Res. 120 forbidding the export of arms and ammunition in time of war.
- (2). S.J. Res. 100 forbidding loans and credits to belligerents in time of war.
- (3). S.J. Res. 99 curtailing travel in war zones by American citizens through the denial of passports.

In the House, Representative Maverick has introduced H.J. 259 which covers much the same ground as the Nye-Clark measures. It remains to be seen whether the enforcement of this legislation shall be mandatory or whether it shall be left to the discretion of the President!

Meanwhile the Nye Munitions Committee is working behind closed doors on a war-profits measure to combine the McSwain bill passed by the House early in April with the Nye bill supported by the Committee. It is expected that the measure will contain drastic tax schedules which restrict in time of war all corporation incomes to three per cent and individual incomes to \$10,000.

The Nye-Clark neutrality program, it must be recognized, is frankly isolationist in character. Its purpose is to "quarantine" the United States against the sweep of a possible future war epidemic throughout the world. One naturally asks, "In case a conflict occurs, could the government at Washington withstand the war demands of those 'interests'

seeking higher prices and profits? When the test came, would not all legislation prohibiting war loans and shipments be promptly repealed? What would the jingo press say if Americans on business abroad were not protected?"

Moreover, the program might have certain unfavorable international effects. It is argued the embargo on arms would handicap, in case of conflict, the more pacific nations who had not manufactured or accumulated large stocks of munitions. Thus it might tend to force all countries into greater war preparations.

There are strong grounds for supporting the Nye-Clark neutrality program. At the same time its inadequacy must be recognized. The only sure way of keeping the United States out of war is to prevent war taking place. But that can be done, many believe, only if the United States gives effective support to a positive program of international cooperation.



"George says there'll always be wars. It's man's nature to fight."



Courtesy Christian Science Monitor
Trying to pull the fuse.

In the political field this would imply entrance into the World Court and the League of Nations, together with a drastic cut in our own swollen military expenditures as a contribution to international disarmament. But of equal or more fundamental importance would be cooperation toward world economic stability by measures to stabilize currency, reduce tariffs and international debts, and promote international economic planning.

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British Take Peace Plebiscite

By the middle of April more than 6,000,000 votes had been cast in the peace plebiscite now under way in Great Britain. The vote is a house-to-house poll. It is being taken by a committee headed by Lord Robert Cecil, in which are cooperating representatives of the churches, the trade unions, the three political parties, women's societies, and various peace and educational organizations including the British League of Nations Union.

The five questions on the ballot and the percentage of affirmative votes already cast for each one are as follows:

1. Should Great Britain remain a member of the League of Nations? 97.7 per cent.
2. Are you in favor of an all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement? 92.5 per cent.
3. Are you in favor of the all-round abolition of national military and naval air-craft by international agreement? 84.7 per cent.
4. Should the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit be prohibited by international agreement? 93 per cent.
5. Do you consider that if a nation insists on attacking another, the other nations should combine to compel it to stop by—
 - (a) economic and non-military measures? 94 per cent.
 - (b) if necessary, by military measures? 74.1 per cent.

The message of the peace ballot is clear. The British people are for peace.

Flowers Hide Hawaiian Forts

"Glamorously camouflaged in exotic flowers, stately palms and peaceful, verdant hills, Hawaii today looked forward with mixed emotions to becoming America's most heavily fortified area," according to a United Press despatch. Already a Gibraltar of the Pacific, with six army ports, two army airfields, a navy air base and Pearl Harbor naval base, the government this year will spend many more millions to enlarge and strengthen its first line of defense.

Honolulu business welcomes the forthcoming expenditure of \$11,000,000 for a new army air base and the \$38,000,000 for extensions and improvements at Pearl Harbor. They mean better business.

The new army air base will be the largest and most modern in the entire Pacific area. Two thousand acres required for the base already have been condemned near Fort Kamehameha, a short distance outside Honolulu.

And Also for Defense?

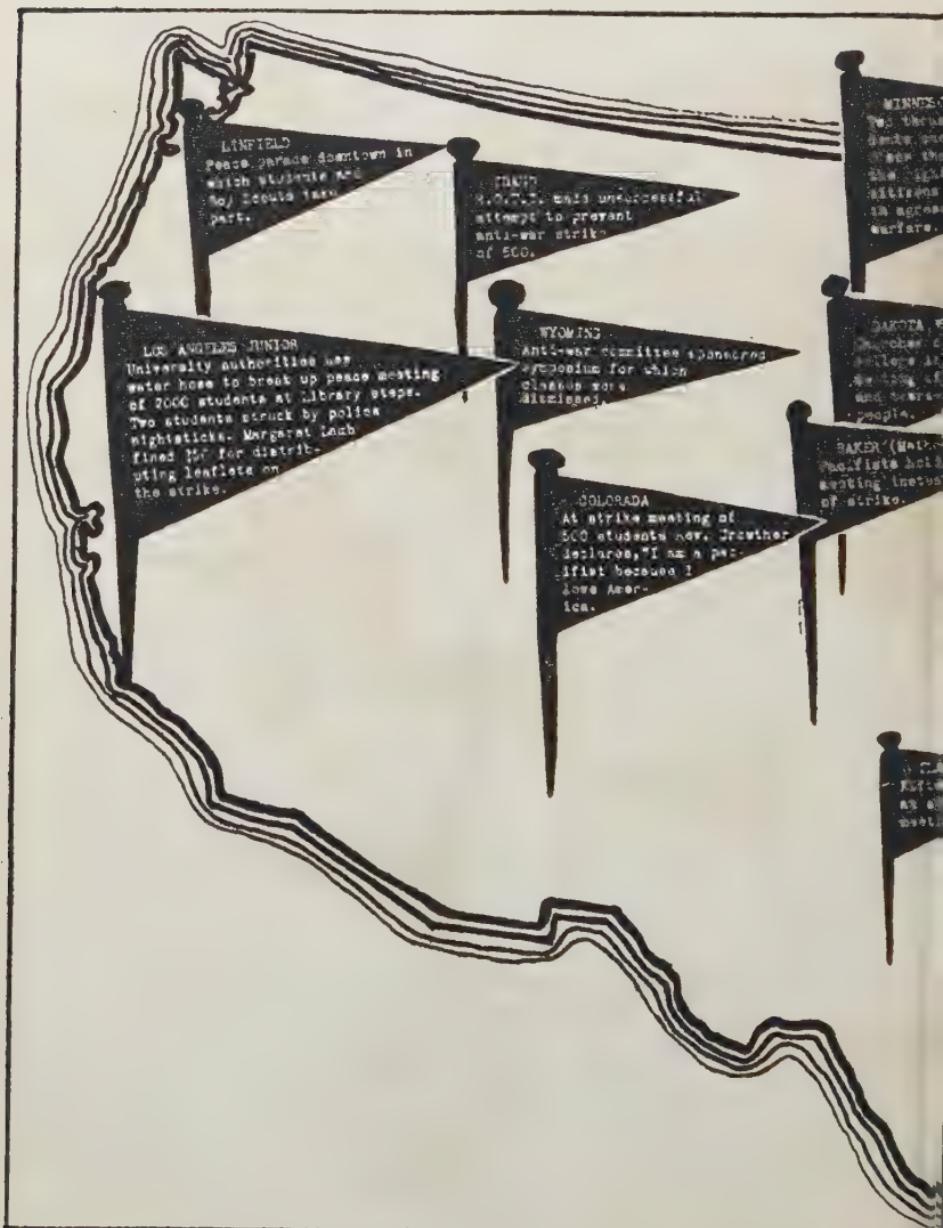
The government's shipment of two hundred families of "new pioneers" from their farms in Minnesota and Michigan to the Matanuska Valley in Alaska has been played-up in the news-reels and in feature and rotogravure sections of the press.

Mr. Cyrenus Cole of Iowa with Henry C. Wallace, father of the present Secretary of Agriculture, visited this section of Alaska in 1923. They found the land in the Matanuska rather poor with only a thin layer of soil thawing long enough for cultivation. Mr. Cole quotes the elder Wallace as saying, "I hope I may never have to follow a plow with a mosquito net over my head."

"One point not often mentioned in connection with the northern colonization," says the *New Republic*, "is the increasing importance of Alaska in military and naval defense plans of the United States and the government's desire to have some civil population in Alaska to support the large air bases that are planned for that region."

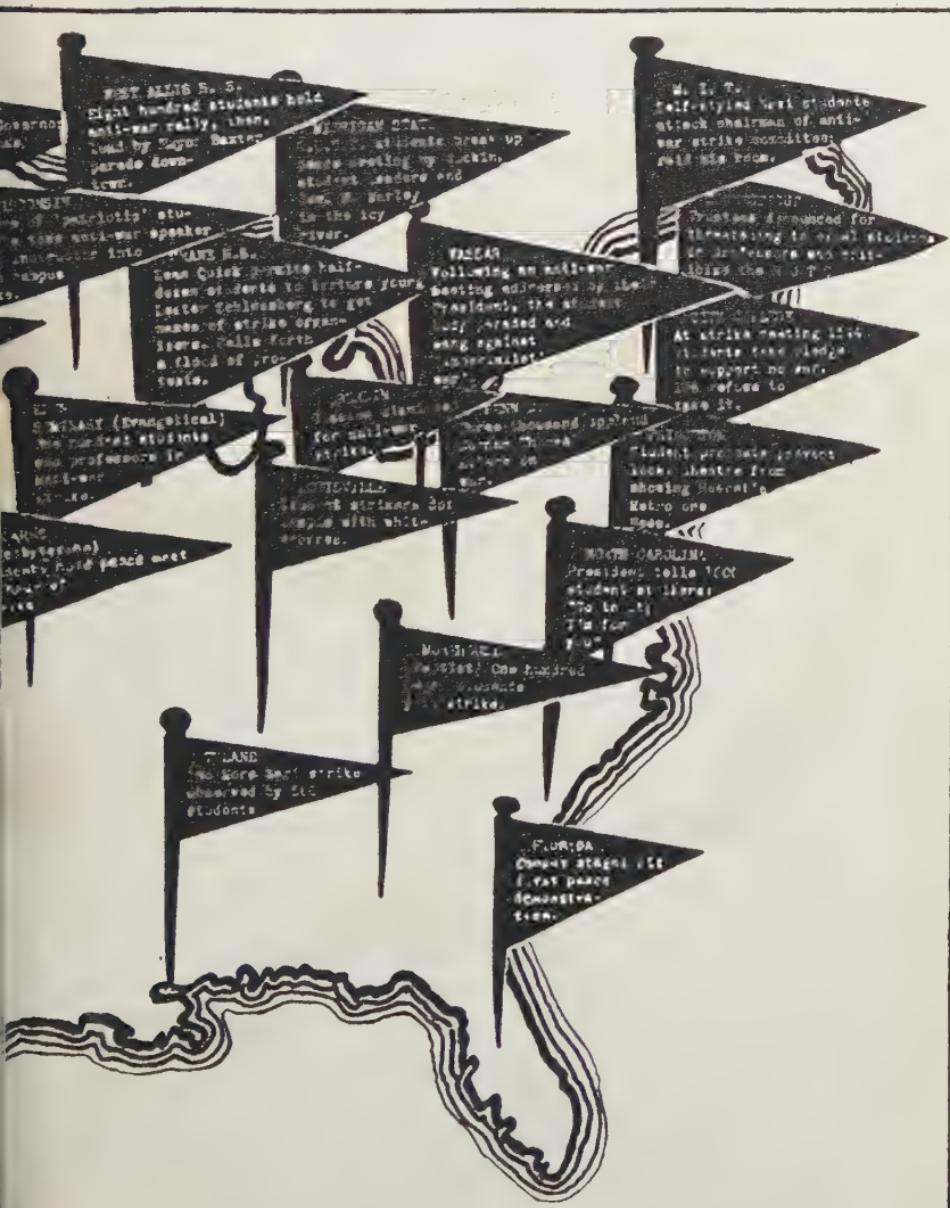
War Becomes Campus Issue; Students

On April 14th at 11 o'clock approximately 1



Strike Against "Cannon Fodder" Careers

Students abandon classes for a strike against war.



Naval Budgets and Maneuvers Bear Fruit

A pamphlet recently printed and distributed by Japan's Navy department contains the following:

"In 1905 Russia was the rival and the danger. Today that is changed. We have had to face in another direction. We are confronting another great sea power which is increasing its navy with Japan as the target.

"Already we are studying means to cope with such a situation, and we are confident that we shall be able to face the rigors of a naval race."

Think it over, Christian!

United States: Exporter of Guns and Missionaries

A friend from Japan recently made this joking remark: "Some of my friends in Japan say Americans are fools, but that the French are smart. The Americans sell Japan munitions and with the profits send them missionaries. The French simply sell them munitions."

'Soldier' Sends News from the Front

"At the Dow Chemical Co. in Midland, Mich., where I work, you can see War preparations going on. In one new building they are making cellulose, used in gun cotton. Phenol is being shipped to Japan, China and Germany. During the World War the plant was increased about five times, and covers an area one mile square. Plans for further expansion have been announced. Nearly 300 products are manufactured, most of them necessary in War-time. We are now working on a new poison gas."—Employee.

If It Must Go, We Hope It Won't Come Back!

"With the world, and especially Japan, preparing for war at record speed, the exports of steel scraps from the United States reached a new high at 560,000 tons in the first quarter of 1935—a 66% gain over last year's record breaking total.

Last year the total exported was 1,833,554 tons, a tremendous increase over the year before, with Japan taking twice as much as all the rest of the world combined."—*Federated Press, May 23, 1935.*

The Unbalanced Budget

The cost of the Army and Navy for the coming fiscal year will reach the new high of approximately a billion dollars. The figures are as follows:

Navy Department Appropriations	\$457,805,261
Navy Dept. Public Works allotments	118,326,982
Additional Public Works for Naval and Air bases	38,000,000
Total for Navy	\$614,132,243
War Department Appropriations for military purposes	\$341,348,261
War Dept. Public Works allotments available	3,639,243
Total for Army	\$344,987,504
Total for Army and Navy ..	\$959,119,747

Supreme Court Is Petitioned

Attention is focusing on the case of young Angelo Herndon, whose appeal the U. S. Supreme Court on May 20 refused by a vote of 6 to 3 to hear.

"It is time for all lovers of justice and decency without regard to politics to speak up," says Norman Thomas. "We want no more Sacco and Vanzetti or Mooney and Billings cases in America. I know of no case which is so absolutely raw as this one. Herndon is condemned to the living hell of 20 years on a Georgia chain gang, and why? . . . It happens that he is both a Negro and a Communist and that he was organizing peacefully to obtain better relief conditions for workers, including of course colored workers. For this and only this, a young man, a genuine working class idealist—and I who say this am no Communist—now faces the fate to which many would think death preferable."

A legal petition for rehearing by the U. S. Supreme Court will be filed by the International Labor Defense in behalf of Angelo Herndon. Meanwhile churches, labor unions, lodges and many other groups are sending petitions and resolutions to the Supreme Court asking for a rehearing.

Government by Filibusters

The spectacle of a five day filibuster in which a small group of U. S. Senators postponed passage of the Anti-Lynching bill has called forth widespread indignation. In a telegram to President Roosevelt, Edna St. Vincent Millay said, "I am for the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching bill. But if it is to be defeated, I should like it to be defeated by sound argument and a dignified assembly, and not by this outmoded and shameful Alice-in-Wonderland procedure."

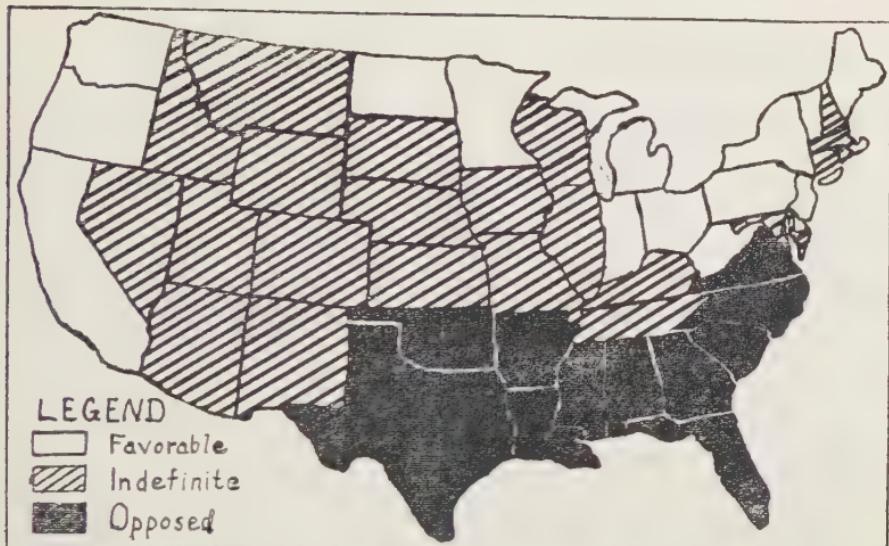
Organizations whose combined membership totals many million persons have endorsed this piece of humane legislation. Yet Senator Bankhead (sponsor of legislation to compel farmers to reduce cotton production) referred to the Anti-Lynching bill as "this revolutionary bill, this bill destructive of state rights, this bill which would destroy existing peaceable race relations"

Militant Senators threatened to talk until Christmas to prevent the bill from coming to a vote. They are reported to have come to the sessions "armed with books, documents and even the Bible." Ernest L. Meyer, commenting on this fact in the *New York Post*, drops this little reminder:

"The Bible is generally pertinent to the matter in hand. In the present move to kill the anti-lynching bill, for example, it would be well for the Senate Southerners to read St. Matthew in full. With special stress on the Sermon on the Mount. For that sermon is an exhortation to love your enemy, to forget the tribal vengeance code of an eye for an eye, and to judge not that ye be not judged.

"Blessed are the merciful . . . Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time. Thou shalt not kill . . .' and the voice of the filibustering gentleman will roll on unctuously, and presently, in his brave battle in defense of state's rights in lynching, he will come to a passage in St. Matthew narrating the lynching of a Carpenter at Golgotha."

On the fifth day of the filibuster the Senators who were neutral on the bill joined with those who opposed it and voted to adjourn, thus pushing the bill to the foot of the calendar. (The following map is an analysis of that vote.) But the Senate could not reconvene and proceed with business

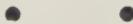


according to the Senate rules without a prayer. Within a few minutes Rev. Zebarney Phillips, the chaplain, was located. He prayed God to "visit our country and particularly the members of the Senate, with Thy loving favor."

"When the next Negro body writhes on a rope in Dixie," writes the Des Moines *Register*, "that invocation will echo hollowly over the heads of the mob."

One striking feature about the anti-lynching campaign was the silence of the President. Advocates of the bill feel he should state his position on this important legislation as he does on other legislation.

Let us press on with our campaign to end government by mobs and filibusters. Write your President and Senators.



"There are still in this country 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 people who have jobs or refuse to go on the dole. I still have faith in the American people. You can give me that 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 and you can take the rest and be damned."—Jouett Shouse, President of the American Liberty League, as reported in the *Western Progressive*, May 17.

Rising Tide of Labor Unrest

Pearl Bergoff, head of Bergoff Service Bureau and the Nation's leading strikebreaker, is quoted as saying: "There'll be more strikes in 1935 than ever in history, and it don't make me mad." The figures seem to bear out his prediction. The United States Department of Labor reports that for each 100 strikers in 1929 there were 105 in 1932, 350 in 1933 and 590 in 1934. In 1935 they are popping across the country like corn on a hot stove, and still on the increase apparently.

Here are a few as reported in the daily press:

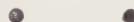
- 35,000 lumber workers in the Northwest
- 4,000 shipyard workers at Camden, New Jersey
- 2,100 implement workers at Racine, Wisconsin
- 1,400 munition workers at Hartford, Connecticut
- 1,200 textile workers at Cleveland, Ohio
- 300 meat packer workers at Oklahoma City
- 400,000 coal miners vote to strike June 16
- 75,000 steel workers vote to strike June 17

Since the Supreme Court did away with code enforcement, the workers' struggle has been against wage cuts and longer hours. The right to organize into their own unions has been an important factor also.

With strikes on the increase and no let-up in sight it is urgent that Christian people do some clear thinking on the subject. A conviction honestly arrived at may not permit either outright opposition or blanket approval. But it could mean that the Church of Jesus Christ would not continue to stand aloof from these struggles in which self-seekers, weapon-users, conscientious employers and employes all clash, and in which spiritual values are won and lost.

The chances are that men do not strike for amusement or just to be perverse especially when they have to face hunger or even guns. It is a good thing, therefore, for those of us who do not relish the idea of violence to probe back to causes.

Various religious bodies in recent years have endorsed the worker's right to organize and to strike. They probably have done so believing that the right was not essentially different from rights commonly enjoyed by other groups, and that, in the present order of things, the strike is the worker's last means of maintaining or improving his living conditions.



Industry's Double Standard

The Employer

1. Usually given vacations without pay.
2. Paid during ordinary illness.
3. In depression salary tardily reduced and usually slightly.
4. Has some right to job and usually receives long advance notice before discharge.
5. Legitimate to employ a spy organization to watch the worker.
6. Legitimate to curtail or stop production.
7. Sabotage or destruction of product justifiable.
8. All profits possible legally to extract from the public justifiable.
9. To organize with other employers justifiable.

10. Perfectly proper to be represented by highly paid outside counsel from any part of the nation.
11. Monopolistic control of natural resources or products considered shrewd business skill.

The Worker

1. Usually given vacations without pay.
2. Not paid during ordinary illness.
3. In depression wages reduced quickly and usually drastically.
4. Has no right to his job and usually has little or no advance notice of lay-off.
5. Considered illegitimate to use a spy organization to watch the employer.
6. Illegitimate to reduce production or to practice cacanny or "soldiering."
7. Sabotage or the destruction of product unethical.
8. Demand for high wages considered unethical and "communistic."
9. To organize with other workers bitterly opposed by many employers and a frequent cause of discharge.
10. Questionable to employ outside organizers, commonly called "outside agitators."
11. Monopolistic control of "closed shop" or permitting only union men to work considered questionable.

Quoted from *Capitalism and Its Culture*, by Jerome Davis (Farrar & Rinehart, New York), p. 503.

"The Least of These, My Brethren"

In March 1935, according to FERA reports, 20,440,000 persons were dependent upon federal relief. This was an increase of 6,900,648 or 51% over March, a year ago.

In some sections of the country the unemployed cannot be sure of receiving even relief. Relief was discontinued in parts of Illinois recently due to a political deadlock on the question of a sales tax vs. an income tax. During the emergency Frank McCulloch of the CSA appeared before the Illinois legislature and the Mayor of Chicago in support of adequate cash relief and the union wage scale on work relief projects.

It has now been announced by the President that wages on government work-relief projects will range from \$19 per month to \$93, depending on the type of work and the locality. The upper limit for unskilled labor is \$40 per month.

In connection with these wage scales it should be borne in mind that:

1. The federal government as a large employer of labor is tending to lower standard wage scales.
2. The work-relief wage scale freezes differentials between the North and South. At the bottom of the scale is the \$19 a month for unskilled work in seven southern states.
3. The work-relief wages are not so much individual as family wages. Only one member of a family may hold a work-relief job. This means that for the average family of four and a fraction, with the breadwinner working, the allowance is little more than \$4 per person per month, \$1 per week or 14c. per day. The great majority, who are classified as unskilled, will be getting between this minimum and maximum of about \$13 per month, of \$3 per week or 43c. per day.

Am I My Brother's Keeper?

"For when I was hungry you gave me food . . . , when I had no clothes you gave me clothes, when I was sick you looked after me."—Matthew 25:35.

GOVERNMENT
WORK RELIEF
PROGRAM

UNSKILLED
WORK

\$19 TO \$40
A MONTH

NO PRECEDENT



Churches In Action

Thirty-nine Congregational-Christian ministers were among the 250 prominent Protestants, Catholics and Jews who recently protested to the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate "against the imminent dangers which threaten our constitutional liberties of free speech, free assembly and a free press."

Lobbying for Social Legislation

It is reported that an Associate at **Jackson, Michigan**, was a member of the committee which appeared before the Governor and House Welfare Committee in behalf of the Social Security bill. He also worked against the Dunckel Sedition bill by speaking on it in his Legion post, in two colleges, and at the state capital. As a result of such work the bill was amended to guarantee free speech.

Anti-Lynch Bill Gets Support from Dixie

An Associate at **Demorest, Georgia**, writes the CSA, "I am trying to cooperate with you all." During the Anti-Lynching filibuster he got college and church people to join him in writing their Senators to support the bill.

"See and Hear" About War

The local committee at **Arlington Heights, Massachusetts**, recently sponsored a week of meetings on "War and Peace," featuring three well-known speakers, a debate (following a church supper) and the showing of a film at the local theatre.

An Associate Researches and Reports

A **St. Paul** Associate forwards to *Social Action* a letter received from his Senator and a local editorial, both supporting the Anti-Lynching bill. He sends also figures indicating that contrary to the general belief, the rate of home ownership is higher among our foreign-born than among our native-born and the crime rate is lower among the foreign-born. Bad news for the K.K.K.

Our Brother's Keeper and Relief Budgets

It's no longer news for churchmen to adopt a resolution that "all men are brothers." But when they resolve that "relief budgets be raised immediately to levels sufficient to maintain health and decency"—that's headline material. For evidence, we refer you to the **Newark (N. J.) News** of May 11 reporting the Middle Atlantic Conference of Congregational and Christian Churches.

Participates in Institute

One of the successful projects of Pioneer Church in **Sacramento** is its sending of representatives and a speaker to the Institute of International Relations sponsored by the Friends Service Committee and the CSA at Mills College.

Cooperatives Seen as Christian Way Out

The Conference of **Nebraska** "commends to the pastors and people of the Congregational churches a thorough study of cooperation of the Rochdale type as a way out of our difficulty—believing that such a cooperative is in harmony with Christ's teaching of brotherhood in society."

Women Address Their Legislators

An Open Letter to the Legislators of **Florida** has been printed and circulated by the Women's Social Relations Committee of that state. It is a convincing appeal to ratify the Child Labor Amendment. The four-page letter includes an editorial reprinted from *The Christian Century* and a list of 24 national organizations supporting the Child Labor Amendment.

New Voice Within the Senate

A telegram from Rev. Vere V. Loper of Plymouth Church in **Denver** favoring the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching bill was read before the U. S. Senate May 1.

Supplementing the Scripture and Sermon

In the church vestibule of First Church in **New Britain, Connecticut**, is a three shelf loan library on social questions and a bulletin board which is used.

The Petition Goes to Church

The Social Action Committee of the **White Plains** (N. Y.) Ministers Association drafted a petition to President Roosevelt in behalf of the Nye Neutrality program which was read from the pulpits Palm Sunday morning and signed by 2000 persons. Another petition in support of the Anti-Lynching bill contained 1000 signatures.

Church Again Eyes the Saloon

The **Maine** Conference has printed a six-page folder on "The Present Temperance Situation" which includes the results of a questionnaire circulated by its Temperance Committee.

31% Would Support War, Providing—

Delegates to the Southern California Conference "jumped the gun" and voted on the Peace Plebiscite. Results: 58 out of 84, or 69%, refused to support war under any circumstances. Just as was suspected—serious need for campaign of education!

In Defense of the Right to 'Reflect'

Social Relations Committees swung into action in May when the Trustees of **Connecticut** State College voted that to "reflect upon the college's military instruction" would subject students and faculty members "to cause for removal." Against this threat to academic freedom letters were written, newspaper support enlisted, and special meetings called—in church and out. It was clearly demonstrated that several Christian people are not yet ready to relinquish the right to express their opinions, especially on such important questions as military training.

New Method in Peace Education

Congregational churches joined with other groups May 18 in the annual No-More-War parade up Fifth Avenue in **New York City** in which over 10,000 took part. Delegations from churches appeared in vestments, carrying banners and placards, and at the close joined in a peace pledge led by Rev. John Haynes Holmes.

Another Report on Associates

The total number of CSA Associates and subscribers increased approximately 20% during the month of May. Several interesting changes occurred in the standing of the states during the month:

Massachusetts wiped out the lead which Iowa held a month ago. On the first of June these two leading states had exactly the same number of Associates and subscribers.

Nor did California let *Social Action's* insulting statements about her "paytriotism" stop her from climbing from fifth position into the third notch.

But of those states with small memberships, Tennessee did the best in May, bringing her percentage to 20 times that of Connecticut for example. What puzzles the CSA is whether it is supported by the Tennesseans who are agin' monkeys, or by those who are for the TVA, or by somebody else!

Other states which showed good gains in May were South Dakota, Wisconsin, Missouri, New Jersey and Minnesota. States which dropped behind were New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Vermont, Montana, and Rhode Island.

One Associate obtained ten subscriptions to *Social Action* to be sent to staff members of a large public library. Members of one Sunday School have subscribed to several copies for use in their classes. Pamphlet numbers are being included in the literature exhibited at YMCA and YWCA conferences this summer.

Social Action is primarily a layman's magazine and not a leaders' manual. It is intended for that large group of Christian people who do not have the time, money or inclination to do a lot of reading.

Naturally it is difficult for these people to find out about *Social Action* in the early months of its existence. We are grateful to our Associates and readers for all they have done to help introduce it.

New Material for Literature Tables

The Campus Strikes Against War, J. P. Lash. 1935, 46p., 10c.

A review of the student anti-war movement and an analysis, with facts and anecdotes of the recent strike against war involving 150,000 students.

Student League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Students Fight War. 1935, 32p., 5c.

This deals with "students in the World War," "Nature of War?" "R.O.T.C." "School Trustees" and "Student Action Against War." National Student League, 31 East 27th Street, New York.

Is War the Way? John L. Lobingier. 1935, 56p., 25c.

A six session course for individual reading, summer conferences and church study groups.

Pilgrim Press, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Prepare for the Peace Plebiscite, John L. Lobingier. 1935, 16p., free.

Contains the text of the plebiscite, explains the questions to be voted on, lists study outlines and supplies detailed suggestions to the minister and other leaders.

Congregational Education Society, 14 Beacon Street, Boston.

America's Struggle for Electric Power, John Bauer. 1935, 46p., 10c.

Dr. Bauer describes the "battle between those who regard our electrical industry as the rightful preserve of the few and those who regard it as a public service."

League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

America's Capacity to Produce and America's Capacity to Consume.

1935, 60p., free.

A digest of the studies made by the Brookings Institution.

Write to the Falk Foundation, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The Worker and the Government, Lois MacDonald and E. Stein.

1935, 140p., 35c.

The authors outline the importance of the courts, summarize protective labor legislation and review the history of labor disputes and the government.

Affiliated School for Workers, 302 East 35th Street, New York.

The Most Complete Agricultural Recovery in History, F. C. Howe.

1934, 14p., free.

The story of the part played by cooperatives in Denmark's recovery.—U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

FOR SUMMER READING

Road to War: America 1914-1917, Walter Millis. Houghton, 1935, \$3.00.

"An engrossing study of how and why the United States entered the World War. Required reading for every American citizen."

A Call To Action!

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WORK against war by exposing and removing its underlying causes. Get your Representatives to support legislation to "take the profit out of war" and "keep America out of war."

DEFEND the dispossessed in their right to adequate relief and in the legitimate right to organize and to strike.

FREE America from the curse of lynching. Write the President to take a stand for the Costigan-Wagner bill.

STUDY Consumers Cooperation.

ORGANIZE for social action by enlisting Associates, circulating literature, launching a local project, and communicating with the Council for Social Action.

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"Make Your Convictions Count"

